

# ORPHEUS

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**STUDI BIZANTINI  
IN ONORE DI  
MARIA DORA SPADARO**

a cura di

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STAVROS G. GEORGIU

## The Byzantine Aristocracy in Cyprus during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries\*

The archbishop of Cyprus Nicholas Mouzalon (1107-1110), who later became patriarch of Constantinople as Nicholas IV (1147-1151), testifies in his apologetic poem on his resignation from the archbishopric of Cyprus that in the early twelfth century a merchant ship needed ten days to get from Constantinople to Cyprus<sup>1</sup>. The distance was long and the island had been the eastern part of the Byzantine Empire for centuries. However, the study of extant sources shows that Cyprus did not differ from other Byzantine provinces, neither in its social stratification nor in the organization of the social and the economic life<sup>2</sup>. In this context an important role was played by the local aristocracy, the evidence for which in the eleventh and the twelfth centuries we will examine in this paper.

The survived sources are exiguous, but they offer significant testimonies revealing the existence of a local nobility in Cyprus

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\* I wish to thank my good friend and colleague Dr. Nicholas Coureas, Senior Researcher at Cyprus Research Centre, for his help with the English text.

<sup>1</sup> Στίχοι Νικολάου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Μουζάλωνος, τοῦ γεγονότος ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κύπρου, ἐν τῇ παραίτησί αὐτοῦ γεγόμενοι, ed. G. Strano, *Nicola Muzalone, Carme apologetico. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note* (La Gorgona, 3), Acireale - Roma 2012, p. 96, 259-273. The duration of voyages at sea depended on the type of vessel, the intermediate stations and the weather. See e.g. M.N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. Critical Text, Translation and Commentary*, London 1907, pp. 14-15.

<sup>2</sup> See St. G. Georgiou, *Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις γιὰ τὴν οἰκονομία τῆς Κύπρου κατὰ τὴν περίοδο τῶν Κομνηνῶν (1081-1185)*, 'Επετηρίδα τοῦ Κέντρου 'Επιστημονικῶν 'Ερευνῶν 33, 2007, pp. 21-75; Id., 'Ἡ Κύπρος τὸν ΙΑ' καὶ τὸν ΙΒ' αἰῶνα: Ὅψεις μιᾶς βυζαντινῆς ἐπαρχίας', 'Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν 'Ιερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου 9, 2010, pp. 129-148. For eleventh and twelfth-century Cyprus see also G. Strano, *Un esempio di malgoverno nella periferia dell'Impero bizantino durante il regno di Alessio I: il caso di Cipro*, *Orpheus* N.S. 25, 2004, pp. 83-100; E. Malamut, *Chypre au XIIe siècle*, 'Επετηρίδα τοῦ Κέντρου 'Επιστημονικῶν 'Ερευνῶν 36, 2011-2012, pp. 9-50.

in this period and their dominant position and power in the Cypriot society before the Frankish conquest in May 1191.

Niketas Choniates makes an important reference to the local aristocracy, when he describes the cruelties inflicted in Cyprus by Isaac Doukas Komnenos (1184-1191), who seized the power on the island in the second half of 1184, providing false imperial documents concerning his appointment. Niketas Choniates specifically writes about the once prosperous households (εὐδαίμονας πρώην οἴκους) and exalted indigenous nobles (περιβλεπομένους αὐτόχθονας), whom Isaac deprived of their property: Καὶ κοίταις δὲ ἀθεμίτοις καὶ φθοραῖς παρθένων ὁ παναισχρὴς καὶ ἐξάριστος ἠκολάσταινεν οὐσίας τε ἀπάσης τοὺς εὐδαίμονας πρώην οἴκους ἀνυπευθύνως ἐστέρησε καὶ τοὺς χθές τε καὶ πρότρίτα περιβλεπομένους αὐτόχθονας καὶ κατὰ τὸ πολυκτῆμον τῷ Ἰωβ ἀντερίζοντας διαφῆκεν ἀγυρτεῦειν λιμώττοντας καὶ γυμνιτεύοντας, καθ' ὅσων τέως οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῷ ξίφει ὁ ἀκρόχολος<sup>3</sup>.

It is clear that the once prosperous households were the Byzantine aristocratic *oikoi* (οἴκοι)<sup>4</sup> and the exalted indigenous nobles were the local Byzantine *archontes* (ἄρχοντες) of Cyprus<sup>5</sup>.

Saint Neophytos the Recluse refers to this class of local *archontes* in his short but very important text *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν* (*De calamitatibus Cypri*). There he describes the misfortunes of Cyprus due to the tyranny of Isaac Doukas Komnenos, who forced the rich people to abandon the island, losing their wealth and their land: Ξένα τινὰ καὶ δυσήκουστα τὰ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ συμβεβηκότα δεινὰ, καὶ τοιαῦτα, ὡς πάντας τοὺς αὐτῆς πλουσίους ἐπιλαθέσθαι πλούτου αὐτῶν, λαμπρῶν οἰκημάτων, συγγενῶν, οἰκετῶν, ἀνδραπόδων, πλήθους

<sup>3</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Χρονικὴ διήγησις*, ed. I.A. van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia* (CFHB, XI/1-2), I-II, Berolini - Novi Eboraci 1975, I, pp. 291, 41-292, 58, especially p. 291, 47-52.

<sup>4</sup> For the byzantine aristocratic *oikos* see P. Magdalino, *The Byzantine Aristocratic Oikos*, in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries* (BAR International Series, 221), ed. by M. Angold, Oxford 1984, pp. 92-111 (ch. 6) (= repr. in P. Magdalino, *Tradition and Transformation in Medieval Byzantium*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, Hampshire - Brookfield, Vermont 1991, no. II); A. Kazhdan, *Oikos*, in ODB, III, pp. 1517-1518, especially p. 1517; L. Neville, *Authority in Byzantine Provincial Society, 950-1100*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 66 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For the term ἄρχων in Byzantium see A. Kazhdan, *Archon*, in ODB, I, p. 160.



ποιμνίων, βουκολίων, λακινίων, βοσκημάτων παντοίων, χωρῶν σιτοφόρων καὶ παμφόρων ἀμπέλων καὶ παραδείσων ποικίλων, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἀποπλεῦσαι λάθρα πρὸς χώρας ἀλλοδαπὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδαν τῶν πόλεων. Ὅσοι δὲ διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, τίς ἱκανὸς ἐκτραγωδήσαι τὰς θλίψεις αὐτῶν, τοὺς ἑτασμούς, τοὺς δημοσίους φυλακισμούς, τὴν ὀλκὴν τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων χρημάτων, μέχρι χιλιάδων τόσων καὶ τόσων; Ταῦτα δὲ συγκεχώρηται γενέσθαι δι' ἁμαρτίας ὄγκον, ψήφῳ θεοῦ δικαίᾳ, ἵνα ταπεινωθέντες καταξιοθῶμεν ἴσως συγγνώμης<sup>6</sup>. Among those who abandoned the island was included a spiritual son of the Saint. He left with his people (σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ) and fled to Constantinople, where Emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195, 1203-1204) honoured him with the title of *sebastos*<sup>7</sup>. Saint Neophytos refers to the seizure of the rich people's wealth by Isaac Doukas Komnenos in another passage of the same work:... ἐκάκωσε δὲ οὐ τὴν χώραν ἀπλῶς καὶ τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς βίους καθόλου διήρπασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ ποινηλατῶν καθεκάστην καὶ θλίβων, ὥστε πάντας ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ διάγειν καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐπιζητοῦντας φεύξασθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ<sup>8</sup>.

Unfortunately no testimony survives regarding the Byzantine aristocracy in Cyprus during the most part of the eleventh century. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that no source mentions the participation of any nobleman in the two revolts occurred in Cyprus in the eleventh century, namely the revolt of Theophilos Erotikos between April and July 1042<sup>9</sup> and the revolt of Rapsomates in around the years 1091-1092<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου, μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν, ed. A. Karpozelos, *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Ἐπιστολές*, in *Ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, V, Paphos 2005, pp. 389-470, especially pp. 399-411, at p. 406, 31-44.

<sup>7</sup> For this person see St. G. Georgiou, *Ὁ ἀλληλογράφος τοῦ ἁγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου ἀνώνυμος σεβαστὸς καὶ οἱ θεωρίες γιὰ τὴν ἑτερότητα τῶν Κυπρίων*, *Βυζαντιακά* 24, 2004, pp. 187-196.

<sup>8</sup> Neophytos the Recluse, *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν*, p. 407, 72-76.

<sup>9</sup> For the revolt of Theophilos Erotikos see St. G. Georgiou, *Τὸ κίνημα τοῦ Θεοφίλου Ἐρωτικοῦ (1042) καὶ τὸ “ἔθνος τῶν Κυπρίων”*, *Βυζαντινὰ* 29, 2009 (= *Ἀφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμην τοῦ Δημητρίου Γ. Τσάμη*), pp. 151-162.

<sup>10</sup> For the revolt of Rapsomates see St. G. Georgiou, *Τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ στασιαστῆ Ραψομάτη στὴν Κύπρο (περίπου 1091-1092)*, *Βυζαντινὸς Δόμος* 19-21,

The first testimony of a Cypriot aristocrat from the eleventh century is derived from a note in the codex Carpentras 11, f. 277r. This is a codex of the tenth century which is contained in a gospel. According to the note, dated to October 1091, the *magistros* Epiphanius Paschales donated the gospel to the monastery of the Virgin Alypou, which he founded in Geri, near Nicosia<sup>11</sup>.

Shortly afterwards another local aristocrat named Nikephoros Ischyrios, who also possessed the title of *magistros*, founded the monastery of the Virgin Mary of Asinou in the years 1105/1106<sup>12</sup>. He and his wife Gephyra – his daughter according to another account – are shown in the dedicatory panel in the central blind arch above the entrance, painted in the fourteenth century and probably copying the lost original of the late eleventh century. Nikephoros Ischyrios offers the church to the Virgin Mary, who is leading him to Christ, pictured as enthroned and surrounded by angels. Behind Nikephoros Ischyrios Gephyra is depicted on a smaller scale. Both are painted with brilliant clothes<sup>13</sup>. Nikephoros Ischyrios is mentioned with the title of *magistros* in three inscriptions: the verse inscription in the centre of the dedicatory panel<sup>14</sup>, the prose inscription on the western blind arch of the

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2011-2013 (= *Τιμητικὸς τόμος ἀφιερωμένος στὴν Ὁμότιμη Καθηγήτρια Βασιλικὴ Νεράντζη-Βαρμάζη*), pp. 551-559.

<sup>11</sup> J. Darrouzès, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de Chypre (deuxième article)*, Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί 20, 1956, pp. 31-63 (= repr. in Id., *Littérature et histoire des textes byzantins*, Variorum Reprints, London 1972, no. XV), especially p. 44, no. 22. See also K. Hatzioannou, *Τὰ ἐν διασπορᾷ Β' τῆς δεκαετίας 1969-1979* (Ἐκδόσεις Μορφωτικῆς Ὑπηρεσίας Ὑπουργείου Παιδείας, 6), Nicosia 1979 (repr. 2000), pp. 70-79, especially p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> For Nikephoros Ischyrios see St. G. Georgiou, *Περὶ τοῦ κτίτορος τῆς μονῆς τῆς Παναγίας τῆς Ἀσίνου Νικηφόρου Ἰσχυρίου*, Ἑπετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετῶν Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Κύκκου 7, 2006, pp. 191-197, with reference to sources and bibliography. From the most recent bibliography see also G. Grivaud, *Fortunes and Misfortunes of a Small Byzantine Foundation*, transl. by Ch. Dibble, in *Asinou Across Time. Studies in the Architecture and Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, Cyprus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XLIII), ed. by A. Weyl Carr-A. Nicolaïdès, Washington, D.C. 2012, pp. 13-36 (ch. I), especially pp. 18-20, 22.

<sup>13</sup> See A. Weyl Carr, *The Murals of the Bema and the Naos: The Paintings of the Late Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, in *Asinou Across Time ...*, ed. by A. Weyl Carr-A. Nicolaïdès, pp. 211-310 (ch. VI), especially pp. 291-298 and fig. 6, 50 – 6, 51.

<sup>14</sup> N. Patterson-Ševčenko, *The Metrical Inscriptions in the Murals of the Panagia Phorbiotissa*, in *Asinou Across Time ...*, ed. by A. Weyl Carr-A. Nicolaïdès, pp. 69-90 (ch. III), especially p. 79, 1-6. See also A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Fresken und Mosaiken* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philoso-

south wall of the nave below the wall painting of Saints Constantine and Helen<sup>15</sup>, and a metrical inscription around the base of the conch in the apse<sup>16</sup>.

The foundation of the monasteries of Panagia Alypou and Panagia of Asinou, sponsored by the two founders Epiphanius Paschales and Nikephoros Ischyrios respectively, as well as the brilliant depiction in the case of Nikephoros Ischyrios, prove their noble descent. The foundation, sponsorship and patronage of monasteries by the aristocracy is a very frequent phenomenon in Byzantium<sup>17</sup>. However, it is sure that Epiphanius Paschales and Nikephoros Ischyrios were not members of the higher Byzantine aristocracy, as proved by the honorary title of *magistros* they held.

According to our knowledge of the court hierarchy of the Comnenian era, the once brilliant title of *magistros* had already lost its value in the late eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth century. On account of this, it was now bestowed on lower state officials or members of the provincial aristocracy<sup>18</sup>. Such cases are known from Athonite and Patmian documents from the period of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118)<sup>19</sup>, while af-

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phisch - Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 374 / Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung, XV / Byzantinische Epigramme in Inschriftlicher Überlieferung, 1), Wien 2009, no. 236, p. 349, 1-6.

<sup>15</sup> A. Papageorgiou, *Βυζαντινή επιγραφική στην Κύπρο*, in *Κύπρος, τὸ πολιτιστικό της πρόσωπο διὰ μέσου τῶν αἰώνων*. Πρακτικά Συμποσίου, Λευκωσία 19-21 Ἀπριλίου 2001, ed. by I. Theocharides, Nicosia 2003, pp. 97-119, especially p. 107.

<sup>16</sup> N. Patterson-Ševčenko, *The Metrical Inscriptions ...*, p. 77, 1-6.

<sup>17</sup> For the patronage in Byzantium during the eleventh and twelfth centuries see M. Mullett, *Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople*, in *The Byzantine Aristocracy...*, ed. by M. Angold, pp. 173-201 (ch. 10) (= repr. in M. Mullett, *Letters, Literacy and Literature in Byzantium*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, Hampshire - Burlington, Vermont 2007, no. VIII); R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843-1118*, Cambridge 1995 (repr. 2002), pp. 120-142.

<sup>18</sup> For the court hierarchy in the second half of the eleventh century see J.-Cl. Cheynet, *Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Byzantion* 53, 1983, pp. 453-477 (= repr. in Id., *The Byzantine Aristocracy and its Military Function*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, Hampshire - Burlington, Vermont 2006, no. VI); St. G. Georgiou, *Οἱ τιμητικοὶ τίτλοι ἐπὶ Κομνηνῶν (1081-1185). Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν διοικητικῶν θεσμῶν τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κράτους*, Ph.D. Thesis, Thessalonica 2005, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>19</sup> See e.g. the *dekretion* (δέκρετον) of February 1112 regarding a private affair in the area of Thessalonica in which many holders of honorific titles participated,

ter this period we know of only few cases in Greek and Italian sources<sup>20</sup>. One such case, which particularly interests us here because of its similarities to the case of Nikephoros Ischyrios, is that of *magistros* Nicholas Kasnitzes, the founder of the church of Saint Nicholas Kasnitzes in Kastoria in the late twelfth century<sup>21</sup>.

Another case of a monastery's foundation by a local *archon* in Cyprus is that of Leo Authentēs, the founder of the monastery of Panagia of Arakas, outside the village of Lagoudera, in December 1192<sup>22</sup>. Unfortunately we have no other details about this person. As in the case of Nikephoros Ischyrios<sup>23</sup>, his name suggests that he was a member of the local aristocracy<sup>24</sup>.

The local Byzantine aristocracy in Cyprus was responsible for the foundation and the sponsorship of significant churches and monasteries, for the copying and illustration of manuscripts and in general for the development of art and literature on the island<sup>25</sup>. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that, as in other Byzantine provinces, while the aristocratic class prospered,

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including eight *magistroi*. See N. Oikonomidēs, *Actes de Docheiariou. Édition diplomatique. Texte* (Archives de l'Athos, XIII), Paris 1984, no. 3, pp. 67, 1-73, 79, especially p. 68, 14-15. For additional testimonies see St. G. Georgiou, *Οἱ τιμητικοὶ τίτλοι ...*, pp. 188-205, 274.

<sup>20</sup> See St. G. Georgiou, *Οἱ τιμητικοὶ τίτλοι ...*, pp. 181 et n. 677, 186.

<sup>21</sup> See E. Drakopoulou, *Ἡ πόλη τῆς Καστοριάς τῇ βυζαντινῇ καὶ μεταβυζαντινῇ ἐποχῇ (12ος - 16ος αἰ.)*. Ἱστορία - Τέχνη - Ἐπιγραφές (Τετράδια Βυζαντινῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας καὶ Τέχνης, 5), Athens 1997, pp. 31-32, 41-44 (nos. 1-3), 54-55; M. Panayotidi, *Ἡ προσωπικότητα δύο ἀρχόντων τῆς Καστοριάς καὶ ὁ χαρακτήρας τῆς πόλης στὸ δεύτερο μισὸ τοῦ 12ου αἰώνα*, in Δῶρον. Τιμητικὸς τόμος στὸν Καθηγητὴ Νίκο Νικονάνο, ed. by G. Karadedos, Thessalonica 2006, pp. 157-167, especially pp. 157-159, 162; A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme ...*, pp. 175-179 (no. 94), with bibliography.

<sup>22</sup> See A. Nicolaidēs, *L'église de la Panagia Arakiotissa à Lagoudéra, Chypre: Étude iconographique des fresques de 1192*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 50, 1996, pp. 1-137, especially pp. 4-9; A. Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme ...*, pp. 322-325 (no. 224).

<sup>23</sup> Ἰσχύριος from *ισχυρός* = strong, powerful. See G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 679, *s.v.* *ισχυρός*; E. Kriaras, *Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημόδου Γραμματείας, 1100-1669*, I-XVIII, Thessalonica 1968-2012, VII, pp. 181-182, *s.v.* *ισχυρός*.

<sup>24</sup> *Ἀυθέντης* = lord, master. See E.A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (From B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, Cambridge, Massachusetts - Leipzig 1914 (repr. Hildesheim - Zürich - New York 1992), p. 276, *s.v.* *αὐθέντης*, *ov*, *ō*; E. Kriaras, *Λεξικὸ ...*, III, pp. 334-336, *s.v.* *αὐθέντης*, *ō*.

<sup>25</sup> See C. Galatariotou, *The Making of a Saint. The Life, Times and Sanctification of Neophytos the Recluse*, Cambridge 1991 (repr. 2004), pp. 57-60.

the people, especially the peasants, were oppressed by heavy taxes and the pressure of the aristocrats<sup>26</sup>.

It must also be assumed that the aristocracy had suffered from the heavy consequences of the raids that Cyprus faced shortly after the middle of the twelfth century: the raid of the Prince of Antioch Renaud de Châtillon (1153-1160) and the King of Lesser Armenia Thoros II (1145-1169) in 1156<sup>27</sup>, the raid of the Egyptians in 1158<sup>28</sup>, and the raid of the Count of Tripoli Raymond III (1152-1187) in 1161<sup>29</sup>. The first raid in particular was a tremendous shock to the prosperity of the island after nearly two hundred years, ever since it was freed from the Arab raids in 965.

In the second half of the twelfth century Saint Neophytos the Recluse makes interesting references to aristocrats – the magnates (μεγιστᾶνες), the rich (πλούσιοι), the nobles (εὐγενεῖς), as he calls them<sup>30</sup> – and he does not hesitate to denounce them for their cruelty and greed<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> See St. G. Georgiou, *Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις ...*, pp. 55-59; Id., *Ἡ Κύπρος...*, pp. 136, 140-141. For the rural life in Byzantine Cyprus see also M. Rautman, *The Villages of Byzantine Cyprus*, in *Les Villages dans l'Empire byzantin (IVe-XVe siècle)* (Réalités byzantines, 11), ed. by J. Lefort - C. Morrisson - J.-P. Sodini, Paris 2005, pp. 453-463.

<sup>27</sup> See Aik. Asdracha, *Ἡ Κύπρος ὑπὸ τοὺς Κομνηνοὺς (Β')*, in *Ἱστορία τῆς Κύπρου*, III: *Βυζαντινὴ Κύπρος*, ed. by Th. Papadopoulos, Nicosia 2005, pp. 349-412 (ch. IX), especially pp. 356-360; P. Aubé, *Un croisé contre Saladin. Renaud de Châtillon*, Paris 2007, pp. 71-73; St. G. Georgiou, *Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις ...*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>28</sup> See Aik. Asdracha, *Ἡ Κύπρος ...*, p. 364; St. G. Georgiou, *Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις ...*, pp. 60-61.

<sup>29</sup> See Aik. Asdracha, *Ἡ Κύπρος ...*, pp. 369-370, 371-372; St. G. Georgiou, *Μερικὲς παρατηρήσεις ...*, pp. 60-61; Id., *Ἡ ἐπιδρομὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων στὴν Κύπρο τὸ 1158 καὶ ὁ ἄγνωστος δούκας Κύπρου*, *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 54, 2010-2013, pp. 291-298.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. Neophytos the Recluse, *Βίβλος τῶν Κατηχήσεων*, ed. B.K. Katsaros, *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Βίβλος τῶν Κατηχήσεων*, in *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, II, Paphos 1998, pp. 71-431, especially pp. 289, 21-23, 417, 1-10, 421, 127-130.

<sup>31</sup> *Νεοφύτου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου δέκα λόγοι περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῶν*, ed. I.E. Stephanis, *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Δέκα λόγοι περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐντολῶν*, in *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα*, I, Paphos 1996, pp. 1-212, especially pp. 83, 14 – 84, 21, 138, 10 – 141, 2; *Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου λόγος κατὰ πλάτος, ἥτοι διὰ ἡθικῶν καὶ γραφικῶν μαρτυριῶν εἰς μῆκος ἐπεκτεινόμενος πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν καὶ μοναχὸν Ἰωάννην*, ed. P. Sotiroidis, *Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Πεντηκοντακέφαλον*, *ibid.*, pp. 215-374, especially p. 365, 3-14.

We have mentioned above the very important testimony of Saint Neophytos regarding the position of the aristocracy after the seizure of power in Cyprus by Isaac Doukas Komnenos. This fact has dramatic consequences for the history of Cyprus from now on. In May 1191 King Richard I of England (1189-1199) captured the island, putting an end to the seven-year tyranny of Isaac. Then the island was sold, firstly to the Order of the Knights Templar and later to Guy de Lusignan (1192-1194) inaugurating the long period of the Frankish kingdom of Cyprus (1192-1489)<sup>32</sup>.

Western sources provide interesting testimonies regarding the Byzantine aristocracy in Cyprus during the period of the occupation of the island by King Richard I of England as well as under the new Lusignan regime.

The *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, the Latin prose narrative of the Third Crusade written by Richard de Templo in the early 1220's, refers to the *magnates of the province*, when referring to the arrest and the imprisonment of the English who suffered shipwreck in April 1191 in Limassol, before the arrival of King Richard<sup>33</sup>.

After the arrival of King Richard in Cyprus on 6 May 1191 and the events that followed, it became apparent that the Greek aristocrats had no intention of defending Isaac Doukas Komnenos, who according to Saint Neophytos the Recluse was abandoned without any people supporting him (ἔρημος λαοῦ)<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> See P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge 1991, pp. 1-12; N. Coureas, *To What Extent was the Crusaders' Capture of Cyprus Impelled by Strategic Considerations*, Ἑπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἑπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν 19, 1992, pp. 197-202; Id., *The Conquest of Cyprus during the Third Crusade according to Greek Chronicles from Cyprus*, The Medieval Chronicle 8, 2013, pp. 193-203; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *The Conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and its Aftermath: A Study of Sources and Legend, Politics and Attitudes in the Year 1191-1192*, Ἑπετηρίδα τοῦ Κέντρου Ἑπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν 26, 2000, pp. 25-123.

<sup>33</sup> Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I.*, I: *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi; auctore ut videtur Ricardo, canonico Sanctae Trinitatis Londoniensis* (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, 38), London 1864, lib. II, ch. XXX, p. 185, 18-20.

<sup>34</sup> Neophytos the Recluse, *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρον σκαιῶν*, p. 407, 77-80.

In more detail Roger of Howeden, the twelfth-century English chronicler, in his *Gesta regis Henrici secundi* writes about how many local aristocrats – calling them in a Western terminology: *multi comites et barones* – went to King Richard on 8 May 1191, after his victory in Limassol the day before, took an oath of allegiance to him against Isaac Doukas Komnenos and delivered hostages<sup>35</sup>. The same chronicler confirms this fact in his *Chronica*<sup>36</sup>.

In the course of events, around 19 May 1191, King Richard, having defeated Isaac Doukas Komnenos marched to Nicosia with great booty of nobles (*cum praeda magna nobilium hominum*), as evidenced by Richard de Templo<sup>37</sup>. Both the Norman poet and chronicler Ambroise<sup>38</sup>, who was contemporary with the events and provides a very reliable description, and Richard de Templo<sup>39</sup> testify that when Richard entered Nicosia the following day the residents greeted him as their master, having shaved their beards as a symbol of the change of the regime. According to Ambroise the English king took as hostages the braver and wiser persons (*Des plus vaillanz e des plus sages*), who voluntarily left Isaac<sup>40</sup>. Richard de Templo refers to *nobiliores Graecorum*, who had thrown off the yoke of Isaac willingly<sup>41</sup>.

Western sources also speak of an important deal between the King Richard on one side and the Greek nobles and all of the island's people on the other side before his departure for the

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<sup>35</sup> *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis*, ed. W. Stubbs, *The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., A.D. 1169-1192; Known Commonly under the Name of Benedict of Peterborough* (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, 49), I-II, London 1867, II, pp. 164, 33 – 165, 2.

<sup>36</sup> *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene* (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, 51), I-IV, London - Oxford - Cambridge - Dublin 1868-1871, III, p. 110, 8-10.

<sup>37</sup> Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, lib. II, ch. XXXVIII, p. 201, 8-10.

<sup>38</sup> Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. M. Ailes - M. Barber, *The History of the Holy War. Ambroise's Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, I-II, Woodbridge, Suffolk 2003, I, p. 31, 1940-1945.

<sup>39</sup> Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, lib. II, ch. XXXVIII, p. 201, 10-14.

<sup>40</sup> Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, I, p. 32, 1956-1959.

<sup>41</sup> Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, lib. II, ch. XXXVIII, p. 201, 19-22.



Holy Land on 5 June 1191. According to Roger of Howeden the nobles were obliged to give half of their property to King Richard in exchange for the return to the laws they had in the time of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143-1180)<sup>42</sup>. This information is also imparted by Peter of Langtoft, the English chronicler of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries<sup>43</sup>.

It is not clear what the intentions of King Richard were and the kind of the status he wanted to establish in Cyprus after the conquest, but it is a fact that Greek aristocrats accepted the new regime hoping for better conditions than the period of tyranny of Isaac Doukas Komnenos. In fact they became vassals of the English king with a peculiar status<sup>44</sup>. However, shortly after the departure of Richard for Acre and the assignation of the government of the island to Richard de Camville and Robert of Thornham, a revolt by the Cypriots occurred<sup>45</sup>. After the suppression

<sup>42</sup> Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, III, pp. 111, 35 – 112, 2; Id., *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, II, p. 168, 11-16.

<sup>43</sup> *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ed. Th. Wright, *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the Earliest Period to the Death of King Edward I.* (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, 47), I-II, London 1866-1868, II, p. 70, 9-14.

<sup>44</sup> For this matter see P.W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus ...*, pp. 8-9; G. Grivaud, *Les Lusignan et leurs archontes chypriotes (1192-1359)*, in *Actes du Colloque "Les Lusignans et l'Outre Mer"*, Poitiers-Lusignan 20-24 octobre 1993, Poitiers 1993, pp. 150-158, especially p. 150; J. Richard, *Les révoltes chypriotes de 1191-1192 et les inféodations de Guy de Lusignan*, in *Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. by B.Z. Kedar-J. Riley-Smith-R. Hiestand, Aldershot, Hampshire - Brookfield, Vermont 1997, pp. 123-128 (= repr. in J. Richard, *Francs et Orientaux dans le monde des croisades*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, Hampshire - Burlington, Vermont 2003, no. XVI), especially pp. 125-126; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *The Conquest ...*, p. 59; Ead., *Greeks, in Cyprus. Society and Culture 1191-1374* (The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500, 58), ed. by A. Nicolaou-Konnari-Chr. Schabel, Leiden - Boston 2005, pp. 13-62, especially p. 27. I believe that the incident concerning Statinos, attested by three English chronicles of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries (*Chronicle* of Peter of Langtoft, *Chronicle of the Abbey of Meaux* and *The Romance of Richard the Lionheart*), is not credible. According to these sources Statinos was an officer of Isaac Doukas Komnenos, who escaped to King Richard, offered him his services and later was appointed by him as governor of Cyprus (sic). For a detailed analysis see A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *The Conquest ...*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>45</sup> See Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 116, 14-24; Id., *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, II, pp. 172, 26 – 173, 2; Peter of Langtoft, *Chronicle*, pp. 74, 12 – 78, 23; *Chronicle of the Abbey of Meaux*, ed. E.A. Bond, *Chronica monasterii de Melsa*,



of the rebellion King Richard sold the island firstly to the Order of the Knights Templar and later to Guy de Lusignan, as mentioned earlier.

It seems that the establishment of the Frankish kingdom did not signal the end of the Byzantine aristocracy, although it definitively ceased to exist as a separate class. Leo Authentes furnishes an example of a Greek aristocrat from the early Frankish period in Cyprus. The anonymous compiler of the Lyon *Eracles* provides the significant testimony that Guy de Lusignan gave rich fiefs (*riches fiez*) to Greek (*Griffons*) and the knights who came with him<sup>46</sup>. However, we may assume that under the Lusignans the presence and the rights of Greek aristocrats were drastically reduced<sup>47</sup>.

The survival of a part of Byzantine aristocracy in the early decades of the Frankish regime is confirmed by other sources. Interestingly, the medieval historian, poet and diplomat Philip of Novara (ca. 1200 - ca. 1270) refers to fiefs (*fiez*) belonging to churches, abbeys and the *archontes* (*arcondes*)<sup>48</sup>. We know that certain Greeks were probably included in the remaining ari-

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*a fundatione usque ad annum 1396, auctore Thoma de Burton, abbate. Accedit continuatio ad annum 1406 a monacho quodam ipsius domus* (Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, Rolls Series, 43), I-III, London 1866-1868, I, ch. XVIII, p. 260, 18-28.

<sup>46</sup> Lyon *Eracles*, ed. M.R. Morgan, *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)* (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, XIV), Paris 1982, § 136, p. 139, 8-12. See A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Greeks ...*, pp. 43-44. For the term *Griffon* see Chr. A. Maltezos, 'Ἕλληνες καὶ Λατίνοι: ἡ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἄλλου στὸν πρῶτο αἰῶνα φραγκικῆς κυριαρχίας στὴν Κύπρο', in *Cyprus and the Crusades*. Papers given at the International Conference 'Cyprus and the Crusades', Nicosia, 6-9 September, 1994, ed. by N. Coureas-J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia 1995, pp. 47-57, especially pp. 48-49; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of the Ethnic Name Griffon and the Western Perception of the Greeks (Twelfth - Fourteenth Centuries)*, *Bizantinistica. Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 2nd ser., 4, 2002, pp. 181-196.

<sup>47</sup> For the attitude of Guy de Lusignan towards the Greeks see G. Grivaud, *Les Lusignan ...*, p. 153; J. Richard, *Les révoltes chypriotes ...*, pp. 126-127, 127-128; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Greeks ...*, pp. 27-28.

<sup>48</sup> Philip of Novara, *Le livre de Forme de Plait*, ed. P.W. Edbury, *Philip of Novara, Le Livre de Forme de Plait* (Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, LXI), Nicosia 2009, App. 1.5, p. 188, 4-8. The text writes *arcondes*. See also *ibid.*, n. b: Correct to *arcondes*, i.e. 'archontes'. See G. Grivaud, *Les Lusignan ...*, p. 155; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Greeks ...*, p. 28.

stocracy. The first case is that of *turcopole* Minas, whose estate (*casale*) of Livadi was granted by King Amaury I de Lusignan (1194-1205) to the Latin archbishop of Tyre Joscius (ca. 1186 - ca. 1198) in 1197<sup>49</sup>. The second case is that of Lambite Sabastos, possibly a person named Olymbites who possessed the Byzantine title of *sebastos*, whose property in Limassol and that of his sister was donated by King Hugh I Lusignan (1205-1218) to the Hospitaliers in September 1210<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> N. Coureas-Chr. Schabel, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* (Cyprus Research Centre, Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, XXV), Nicosia 1997, no. 46, p. 143, 1-26, especially p. 143, 2-7. For the *turcopole* Minas see J. Richard, *Les turcoples au service des royaumes de Jérusalem et de Chypre: musulmans convertis ou chrétiens orientaux?*, *Revue des Études Islamiques* 56, 1986 (= *Mélanges Dominique Sourdel*), pp. 259-270 (= repr. in Id., *Croisades et États latins d'Orient. Points de vue et documents*, Variorum Reprints, Aldershot, Hampshire - Brookfield, Vermont 1992, no. X), especially p. 265; Y. Harari, *The Military Role of the Frankish Turcoples: A Reassessment*, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 12, 1997, pp. 75-116, especially p. 85 n. 68; T. Papacostas, *Secular Landholdings and Venetians in 12th-Century Cyprus*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 92, 1999, pp. 479-501, especially p. 481 n. 12; Id., *The Crusader States and Cyprus in a Thirteenth-century Byzantine Prosopography*, in *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204*, ed. by J. Herrin-G. Saint-Guillain, Farnham, Surrey - Burlington, Vermont 2011, pp. 215-241, especially p. 228; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Greeks ...*, pp. 28, 44. For the document see also R. Röhrich, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII-MCCXCI)*, *Oeniponti* 1893, p. 196, no. 737. According to Th. Papadopoulos, *Δομή και λειτουργία του φεουδαρχικού πολιτεύματος*, in *Ιστορία της Κύπρου*, IV: *Μεσαιωνικὸν βασιλεῖον - Ἐνετοκρατία*, part I, ed. by Th. Papadopoulos, Nicosia 1995, pp. 759-784 (ch. XIV), especially p. 765, *turcoples* were an intermediate class of soldier-horsemen, who formed a body interposed between the nobles and the enslaved population. They were recruited from among foreigners but had also become accessible to Greek recruits. For the *turcoples* in Cyprus under the Lusignans see also Colbert-Fontainebleau *Eracles*, ed. A. Beugnot-A. Langlois, *Continuatur Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, ab anno domini MCLXXXIII usque ab annum MCCLXXVII, edita a venerabili Willermo, Tyrensi archiepiscopo*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, publié par les soins de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Historiens Occidentaux*, II, Paris 1859, pp. 1-481, lib. XXVI, ch. XII, pp. 191, 7 - 192, 3, who retains the information that Guy de Lusignan in 1192 gave fiefs worth 300 white byzants a year to *turcoples* who had two horses and a hauberjon (or hauberk or haubergeon), i.e. a shirt reaching at least to mid-thigh and including sleeves. From the relevant bibliography see G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I-IV, Cambridge 1940-1952 (repr. 1972), II, pp. 39-40, 54; E. Chapin Furber, *The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291*, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by K.M. Setton, II: *The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, ed. by R.L. Wolff-H.W. Hazard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 1962 (repr. Madison, Wisconsin - London 1969), pp. 599-629 (ch. XVII), especially p. 603; Y. Harari, *The Military Role ...*, pp. 85 n. 68, 87.

<sup>50</sup> J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean*

Saint Neophytos the Recluse makes interesting references to Greek aristocrats in his *Typikon* (*Τυπική διαθήκη*), which is registered on 9 May 1214. Although writing more than twenty years after the conquest of Cyprus by the Latins, he addresses himself in Chapter 8 of this work to the Byzantine Emperor Theodore I Laskaris (1204-1222), under the title Ὑπόμνησις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, and he states: Κἀγώ, δέσποτα αὐτοκράτορ, αὐτοβαδιούντων ποδῶν τὴν παροῦσαν χρησάμενος συλλαβὴν πρὸς τὴν σὴν ἔδραμον ἀριστοκρατίαν<sup>51</sup>. In the previous chapter 7 with the title *Περὶ τοῦ τῆς Κύπρου ῥηγὸς καὶ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς παρούσης Ἐγκλείστρας*, he did not hesitate to appoint a certain aristocrat as administrator (ἐπίτροπος) of the Enkleistra, to whom he entrusted the task of safeguarding the monastery from all injustice. In addition, he asked him to offer assistance with regard to any request the monks might submit in future, even before the Emperor<sup>52</sup>. In the *Typikon* he also refers to prayers for the Emperors, the *archontes* and archpriests in the vespers, in the matins and in the holy liturgy<sup>53</sup>.

What was, however, the aristocracy, that Saint Neophytos mentioned twenty years after the Frankish conquest? It is certain that he was referring to the Greek aristocrats who had survived under the tyranny of Isaac Doukas Komnenos and afterwards under the Frankish regime.

A few decades later another testimony appears in the *Autobiography* of Patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus (1283-1289). Speaking

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*de Jérusalem, 1100-1310*, I-IV, Paris 1894-1906, II, no. 1354, pp. 121, 1 – 122, 34, especially p. 122, 15-17. I would like to thank Dr. Nicholas Coureas for granting me access to this rare publication. For the *sebastos* Olympites see T.C. Papacostas, *Byzantine Cyprus. The Testimony of its Churches, 650-1200*, I-III, Oxford 1999, I, pp. 56-57; Id., *Secular Landholdings ...*, pp. 480-481; Id., *The Crusader States and Cyprus ...*, p. 228; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Greeks ...*, p. 28. For the document see also R. Röhrich, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani ...*, pp. 225-226, no. 844.

<sup>51</sup> Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου τυπικὴ σὺν Θεῷ διαθήκη περὶ τῆς ἰδίας Ἐγκλείστρας, νήσου Κύπρου τῆς Παφηνῶν ἐπαρχίας, τῆς καὶ νέας Σιών ἐπονομασθείσης, ἥτοι ἐξ εὐδοκίας Θεοῦ σκοπευτήριον ἔνθεον, ed. I.E. Stephanis, Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Τυπικὴ Διαθήκη, in Ἀγίου Νεοφύτου τοῦ Ἐγκλείστου Συγγράμματα, II, Paphos 1998, pp. 1-69, especially p. 35, 11-13.

<sup>52</sup> Neophytos the Recluse, *Τυπικὴ διαθήκη*, pp. 34, 22 – 35, 8. I consider as a mistake the view that Saint Neophytos the Recluse appointed as administrator of Enkleistra the King of Cyprus Hugh I Lusignan. For this issue I prepare a study.

<sup>53</sup> Neophytos the Recluse, *Τυπικὴ διαθήκη*, p. 40, 19-22.

about his origins, Gregory refers to his family that belonged to the old Byzantine aristocracy of the island (οἱ πλούτου τε τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἔχοντες). After the Frankish conquest his family had lost their property and fell into a middle category between the poor, common, and insignificant people on one hand and the prominent and very rich people on the other (μέτρια καὶ ἔχοντες καὶ τιμώμενοι καὶ ὅσα μήτ' εἰς πένητας αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀδόξους ἐνέγραφε, μήτ' εἰς τοὺς ἀδρούς καὶ βαθυπλούτους, συνέταττε). However, it is clear that the young George, as it was his secular name, had the opportunity to study in a high school, an indication of elevated social status<sup>54</sup>.

In conclusion, and on the basis of the few surviving testimonies, one can maintain that a powerful local aristocracy lived and functioned in Cyprus during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, deriving its power and wealth from the ownership of land. Cyprus did not differ from other Byzantine provinces in this respect. This social class began to decline, losing its leading position in Cypriot society, during the tyranny of Isaac Doukas Komnenos. It declined even more under the Frankish regime, when the French feudal system was introduced to Cyprus.

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<sup>54</sup> Γρηγορίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου περὶ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν βίου ὡς ἀπ' ἄλλου προσώπου, ed. W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre, patriarche de Constantinople (1283-1289)* (Études de Philologie, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Anciennes, publiées par l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome, II), Bruxelles - Rome 1937, pp. 173-191, especially p. 177, 5-13. For information about the presence of Greek nobles and landowners in Cyprus during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see G. Grivaud, *Les Lusignan ...*, pp. 150-156; N. Coureas, *Economy*, in *Cyprus. Society and Culture ...*, ed. by A. Nicolaou-Konnari-Chr. Schabel, pp. 103-156, especially pp. 118-119; A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Greeks ...*, pp. 44-54.